

Randells Defense on U. M. W. A., Convention!

The controversy at the United Mine Workers' national convention at Indianapolis, wherein John Mitchell was "vindicated" in regard to his actions in the Colorado-Utah coal strike, and the writer of this article expelled from the United Mine Workers of America for the crime of "lese majesty" against "the little tin labor god," John Mitchell, began on the afternoon of January 18, when a resolution was read from Local Union No. 728, Mt. Olive, Illinois, asking that "Our National President or any one affiliated with the U. M. W. of A. sever all connection with the Civic Federation."

Patrick Dolan, of Pittsburg, "who boasts of never having read a book on political economy and proves it by his ignorance," made the surprising assertion that outside of the "labor leaders" the moving spirits of the Civic Federation are "philanthropists." To enlighten Mr. Dolan I said, "Outside of the 'labor leaders' the most prominent members of the Civic Federation are men like Grover Cleveland, 'Scab Hero' Eliot, Frank Robbins, president of the Pittsburg Coal company, who has made millions out of the pauperized miners of America, and Andrew Carnegie, whose lands are red with the blood of the Homestead strikers."

A bomb thrown into the convention would not have caused more commotion. John Mitchell sprang to his feet and said that he had heard of "this man Randall from Wyoming;" said that I had said in the Dietz, Wyoming, local union that he (Mitchell) had sold out the Colorado strike, and defied me to make such sacrilegious statements in his holy presence.

My letters, papers and documents being then in the hands of a typewriter, who was typewriting the speech I had prepared on the Colorado-Utah coal strike, I sat as still and quiet as a little mouse the remainder of the afternoon session.

John Mitchell was happy in the belief that he had annihilated, crushed and paralyzed me. The delegates that evening were talking among themselves about the "delegate from Dietz" who had tried to make a "bad man" of himself in the wilds of Wyoming, but when he arrived in Indianapolis and stood in the august presence of the "greatest labor leader the world has ever known," his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, and his "knees trembled and smote one another."

When the convention was called to order at 9 o'clock the next morning by John Mitchell, I asked for the floor and gave the delegates the address as published in the Daily People of Sunday, February 5, and the Weekly People of February 11.

MITCHELL'S DEFENSE OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

Before reviewing the national officers' attempt to tear my arguments to pieces, let me review John Mitchell's defense of the Civic Federation.

He said that Frank Robbins had given \$5,000 to the anthracite strikers. If so, it was because he was getting from \$2 to \$4 more per ton for his bituminous coal while the anthracite mines were closed. If Frank Robbins' miners would go on strike to-day, would Frank Robbins show his friendship to organized labor by donating \$5,000 to the United Mine Workers? In the Pittsburg Dispatch, of June 7, 1904, is the following, referring to a banquet given by Frank Robbins to Mitchell and Dadds:

"The banquet was in honor of John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, and District Secretary William Dadds, to wish the two Godspeed on a European tour they are about to make in the interest of their organization. Even Mitchell joined in the tribute to Robbins, which was taken up by others. * * * Mitchell and Dadds were presented with diamond mementoes of the esteem of the operators and miners."

Mitchell said that Andrew Carnegie is not a prominent member of the Civic Federation. If not, why was John Mitchell on a committee a short time ago begging Andrew Carnegie to accept the presidency of the Civic Federation?

In the United Mine Workers' Journal—the official organ of the U. M. W. of A.—of Thursday, December 22, 1904, is a three column portrait of August Belmont, president of the Civic Federation. And who is August Belmont—plutocrat banker, and American representative of the Rothschilds, who, with J. P. Morgan, made \$80,000,000 out of one of Grover Cleveland's gold bond issues; member of New York's most aristocratic clubs, labor crusher, lives in a palace on Fifth avenue, and wants the wealth producers to live in the back alley tenements.

In Harper's Weekly of December 31, 1904, is a full page picture of the banquet given by the Civic Federation at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York. The discerning eye gazing upon the picture of that sumptuous feast may be able to discover the countenance of Marcus M. Marks, who will be long remembered for his fight against the garment workers' union; O. M. Eidlitz, ditto, New York Building Trades; George A. Fuller, ditto, bridge and structural iron workers; Secretary Easley, who sacrifices himself to "maintain friendly relations between capital and labor," for \$10,000 a year; August Belmont, the newly elected president; H. H. Vreeland, the newly elected chairman of the welfare department—H. H. Vreeland, with the union-smashing record; Frank Robbins, chairman of the trade agreement committee—Frank Robbins, who told the miners in the joint scale committee in Indianapolis one short year ago that if his union miners struck he had enough non-union miners to fill his contracts—Frank Robbins, who gave John Mitchell the "diamond mementoes;" and President Eliot, who thrice publicly declared the "scab a hero," newly elected, "on motion of Gompers," chairman of the department of industrial economics. Andrew Carnegie sent a long letter saying he was unwell—probably worrying over the strike at his mills in Youngstown and Girard, Ohio, against a reduction of wages.

No wonder John Mitchell is a little sensitive when the Civic Federation is discussed. No wonder his wrath gets the better of his judgment when the mask of hypocrisy is pulled from the Civic Federation, and his treason to the coal miners of America is exposed.

THE FOUR CHARGES THAT MITCHELL DID NOT ANSWER.

As soon as I had finished my address John Mitchell turned all his heavy artillery, all his "machine guns" and even his little rapid fire bean shooter, "Comrade" Jones, of Wyoming, upon my arguments, and for one day and a half thundered away with denunciation, invective, distorted facts, misquotations, and deliberate falsehoods, at my statements. Let us see the result of their one and a half days' terrific bombardment.

The four direct charges made by me against John Mitchell in the convention were as follows:

First—That the organization, through John Mitchell, played the unorganized miners of Southern Colorado false in promising them support of the union miners of Northern Colorado, and then forcing the Northern Miners, against their wishes, to return to work and defeat the Southern miners.

Second—That in forcing the Northern miners to return to work, by threat or withdrawing support, he violated the principles and constitution of our organization and proved himself to be an autocrat and dictator.

Third—That in promising the Southern miners ample support in the strike call of Nov. 9, 1903, and telling them to "Strike, strike, and strike until you win, if it takes five years," and then in refusing them sufficient support and finally in stopping it altogether, you placed a shameful blot upon our organization and proved yourself to be a greater enemy to the miners of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah

than the inhuman coal companies themselves.

Fourth—That in entering into an unholy deal with the Northern Coal company, at the behest of the Denver Citizens' Alliance, and in dining with the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Peabody Law and Order League at the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, December 5, 1904, you proved yourself a traitor to the working class.

SILENCE NO DENIAL OF JUDAS CONDUCT.

(1.) On the first charge—treason to the Southern miners—absolutely nothing was said by John Mitchell or any national officer. It can not be successfully denied, that when John Mitchell forced the Northern Colorado miners to return to work to win the smiles of the Northern Coal company, and the Denver Citizens' Alliance, he played the part of a Judas to the Southern miners. It is a blot upon the U. M. W. of A. that all the applause for John Mitchell can never wipe out.

(2.) Nothing was said about the second charge—of John Mitchell forcing the Northern miners to return to work by the threat of withdrawing support and cutting them off from the organization. I challenged John Mitchell to prove that it was the miners, the local or district officers, the National Executive Board member of even his own national organization that induced him to force the Northern Colorado strike committee into a conference with the Northern Coal company. I asserted that it was the Northern Coal company, backed by Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Southern Colorado Coal companies. He did not answer it. The only answer he can give is to admit that it was the Northern Coal company and its allies.

Nothing was said about forcing the Northern miners to take the four (4) referendum votes on the question of returning to work. Nothing was said about John F. Reams visiting the local unions and inducing them to go on record, one at a time, as favoring a settlement—a thing they had refused to do in a body. And nothing will ever be said about it.

Nothing was said of sending word, indirectly, to the Northern miners, that unless they returned to work, their support would be cut off, except the vague hint that it was the work of the National Executive Board and not of John Mitchell. As the National Executive Board was not in session at that time, the attempt of Mitchell to throw it upon them is peculiar. It appears to me that the National Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A. must be a patient lot of asses. It will be remembered that during the anthracite strike, when there was some honor to be divided, John Mitchell was perfectly willing to grab it, but in the Colorado-Utah strike he shuffles all the blame on the National Executive Board. On the second charge, John Mitchell has yet to prove that he did not violate the principles and constitution of our organization and proved himself an autocrat and a dictator.

FOR MITCHELL'S MONUMENT—"63 CENTS PER WEEK."

(3.) John Mitchell denied that he had said "Strike, strike, and strike until you win, if it takes five years."

William Price, Sub-District No. 5. "I believe in following the words of John Mitchell: 'Strike, until you win, if it takes five years.'" —Proceedings of the 4th Annual Convention of District 15, page 52.

At Scofield, Utah, handbills were distributed around town promising the miners support for three years, is necessary. How well the organization has kept its promise can be seen from the following circular letter in the issue of the Salt Lake, Utah, "Crisis," of January 13, 1905:

"APPEAL FOR AID: SUB-DISTRICT NO. 3, OF DISTRICT NO. 15, U. M. W. OF AMERICA."

"To the Public—The struggle between the mine workers and the Utah Fuel company, of Carbon county, Utah, is known to almost every person in the country, the arrogant position of the company, the privation and hardship endured by the mine workers and their families since November, 1903, is a matter of history, and we are still on the battlefield.

"The fact of our ability to continue this strike in Carbon county is owing to the generous response on the part of our brothers elsewhere to our appeal for aid.

"We are forced to again make an appeal to you, and you will not regret complying with it, if you who are enjoying the benefits of working where organization exists will enable us to again be able to say we are working under the emblem of justice—the emblem of the United Mine Workers of America.

"All we ask is bread to live on, and we will attend to the rest.

"To return to work now unrecognized as an organization, means to return to a worse condition of slavery than existed before the strike.

"To leave the camps means to lose all our homes, and allow the company to collect the rents from them. And all this after fourteen months' fight and suffering the most cruel hardships and privations. "Help us, brothers! Do not let the Utah Fuel company make good their boast that they will have no dealings with organized labor.

"We will with a victory have and hold the noble and just emblem of the U. M. W. of America.

"With your aid and assistance we can get most of those that are working to quit.

"The product of the mines is only a third of what it was before the strike.

"The mines are in the worst possible condition.

"With help from you, brothers, we will yet win a victory. This appeal is signed by the officers of our union in behalf of 134 men, seventy-four women and 171 children, who have suffered, and are still suffering, untold miseries because of our loyalty to the principles of unionism.

"Send all funds to Celeste Delpiatz, Helped, Utah.

CELESTE DELPIATZ, President.

"CARLO CIACOMO, Secretary."

These people have had no assistance from the United Mine Workers since July 1, 1904. If John Mitchell was not dead to every sense of justice he would aid these people until a victory is won.

John Mitchell and the national officers spent nearly a day and a half trying to make it appear that the strikers were well supported, but the facts—compiled from official records—are as follows: During the winter months of November and December, 1903, and January, 1904, 19,000 men, women and children, who had been ejected from their homes by the soldiers and deputies and had in many cases lost their furniture, clothing and bedding, were living on 63 cents per week. Out of this sum they were compelled to pay rent or buy tents, buy food, clothing and fuel.

The coal miners of the West will some day erect a monument to John Mitchell and have carved thereupon: "63 CENTS PER WEEK."

All the encomiums heaped upon John Mitchell by capitalist newspapers, eminent divines, Frank Robbins, "Scab Hero" Eliot, Andrew Carnegie and the strenuous strenuousity in the White House cannot prevent the fact going down in the history of the Western coal miners that Mitchell proved himself a greater enemy to them than are even the inhuman coal companies.

ONE (BLOOD) WAS ENOUGH.

(4.) John Mitchell denied that he dined with the Denver Citizens' Alliance at a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, December 5, 1903, but admitted that there "might have been a few members of the alliance present."

James H. Blood, attorney for the Denver Citizens' Alliance, has been very successful in settling strikes in Colorado the past few

years. On April 17, 1903, the miners of Northern Colorado held a mass meeting at Louisville, and voted that, after the first of May, they would only work eight hours. In the conferences that followed between the Northern Colorado Sub-District Board and the Northern Coal Operators, James H. Blood represented the Northern Coal company. How successful he was in "settling" the strike can be seen from the following, taken verbatim from the annual address of John C. Sullivan, President of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, to the convention of the State Federation of Labor, 1903:

COAL MINERS NORTHERN FIELD.

"About the middle of April the coal miners of the Northern field notified the coal operators that on the first day of May an eight-hour day would be demanded. Some of the operators (nearly half) were willing to adopt an eight-hour day without question, but the adoption of an eight-hour day was opposed by some of the companies, and with the assistance of the managers of the Citizens' Alliance the unions were persuaded to withdraw their demands, so the benefits of an eight-hour day in the Northern coal field are not to be enjoyed by the coal miners for the present at least."

I was a member of the Sub-District Board, representing the Superior Local Union at that time, and attended the conferences wherein James H. Blood "persuaded" us to withdraw our demands and I know that the statements made by John C. Sullivan are true.

James H. Blood acted as the representative of the Denver Citizens' Alliance during the great sympathetic strike of all the trades in Denver, in May, 1903, and with the able assistance of M. Grant Hamilton and Max Morris, of the American Federation of Labor, succeeded in making a "settlement" that practically destroyed the usefulness of the unions.

In Idaho Springs, Telluride, Cripple Creek and the Southern coal fields, the Citizens' Alliance used six shooters, Gatling guns and Krag-Jorgensons. In Denver and the Northern coal fields, the Citizens' Alliance used flattery, hypocrisy, and ways that are dark and devious.

PROOF THAT COAL FAMINE WAS IMMINENT.

Having reviewed the four main charges against John Mitchell and decided upon what organization I represented. John Mitchell claimed I distinctly stated that I spoke only as a Colorado miner—one from the rank and file—and did not claim to represent them officially, or the Socialist party, or the Western Federation of Miners. It appears to me that the national officers should have held a caucus and decided upon what organization I represented. John Mitchell claimed I represented the Colorado State Federation of Labor, Secretary Wilson the Socialist party, Lewis and Reams the W. F. M., "Comrade" Jones the anarchist club at Dietz, Wyoming, and I certainly expected that Pat Dolan would claim that I represented the A. P. A.

John Mitchell and others denied that there was any danger of a coal famine before the Northern miners returned to work and asserted that "the miners of Northern Colorado only worked half time after they returned to work." This is absolutely untrue. I was one of the miners forced by John Mitchell to go to work in Northern Colorado, and any Northern miner will bear me out in the statement that for six weeks after we returned to work—until the market was relieved—we worked every day and never before was there such an enormous output in Northern Colorado.

Mitchell said that the Northern lignite coal cannot be used for steam purposes—an absurd and ridiculous statement.

Mitchell asserted, as a crushing argument, that there could have been no coal famine in Colorado; that all the coal necessary could be shipped from Kansas and Missouri. True, but Kansas and Missouri coal cannot be retailed to the consumer in Denver at less than \$10 per ton, and in the metalliferous mining and smelting districts, Creed, Ouray, Cripple Creek, Leadville, Grand Junction, Idaho Springs, Boulder, etc., at less than \$11 to \$14 per ton.

Denver Post, November 18, 1903: "Many of the dealers agree that the coal (Kansas and Missouri coal) would cost the consumer at least \$10.50 a ton" (in Denver).

Denver Post, November 25, 1903: "The coal scalper is selling the poor people coal at \$16.75 per ton" (in 100 pound quantities).

Denver Post, November 18, 1903: "It is asserted this morning that the Denver Gas and Electric company has but two days' supply of coal and every effort to get a full supply has failed. Unless the company can get fuel within the next two days, Denver will be in darkness Saturday night."

Denver News, November 26, 1903: "Coal has actually advanced to \$10 per ton."

"Denver, Colo., Nov. 19, 1903.

"Mr. Robert Randell, Superior, Colorado:
"Dear Sir and Brother:—Can you send me by mail an envelope full of coal? Am all out at my house. Have had an order in for coal for two weeks. They have been promising to deliver every day, but they don't make good. Yours fraternally,

"HARRY B. WATERS."

(Extract from letter from Harry B. Waters, Secretary-Treasurer of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.)

"EXPENDITURES" THAT ARE IN THE TREASURY.

The fact remains that, had not John Mitchell forced the Northern miners to return to work, the Southern Colorado miners would have won a victory; a victory that would have been a victory for themselves and all the western miners.

On page 28 of Secretary-Treasurer Wilson's Annual Report in the "Miscellaneous Resources" is this item: "September 15, Aid Refunded District 15, \$30,000." While it is perfectly proper for Mr. Wilson to put the \$30,000 under "Miscellaneous Resources," yet the national officers of the U. M. W. of A. should not boast, as they are doing, that \$30,000 was expended in Colorado that is to-day in the national treasury!

Mitchell attempts to deny that he had tried to prevent the local unions of the East from giving assistance to either the coal or metalliferous miners of the West. He cannot successfully do so. Will he show when or where he ever by word of action encouraged the eastern local unions to contribute?

But in spite of all the underhanded work of John Mitchell, many of the local unions of the east were generous to both the coal and metalliferous miners of the west. And their generosity will never be forgotten by the western miners.

John Mitchell took offense because I said he had made me "scab" in Northern Colorado. The Northern miners being forced to return to work, dug the coal that filled the markets of their Southern brothers and defeated them. I believe that, when I dug coal to defeat the Southern miners, I "scabbed"—even if I did have the consent of John Mitchell, the "greatest labor leader the world has ever known."

WHY DOESN'T JOHN MITCHELL PROSECUTE HOWELLS, SIMPSON AND GEHR?

John Mitchell went out of his way to attack the character of Ex-President William Howells, and Ex-National Executive Board member John L. Gehr, of District 15. John Mitchell, in order to cover his own infamous actions in the Colorado-Utah strike, has spread broadcast throughout the country by his organizers and national board members the story that William Howells, John Simpson and John L. Gehr misappropriated thousands of dollars sent to the strikers. If so, John Mitchell owes it to his organization to prosecute these

(Continued on page four)